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ABSTRACT

A study was conducted to examine two related questions concerning aged return migration: first, which features are common to states that are able to attract a high proportion of their migration-prone native sons and daughters; and second, what might account for the differences, if any, in the demographic and socioeconomic characteristics of return and non-return migrants. Individual characteristics of persons age 60 and over from the 1970 1-in-100 Public Use Sample of Basic Records were analyzed. Distribution patterns revealed that the sun belt states, as a whole, disproportionately attract return migrants; states drawing heavy shares of both types are coastal, except for Arizona. By employing discriminant function analysis and tests for differences of means of migrant characteristics, it was found that return migration is negatively selective. This may be accounted for, in part, by the moves of some immigrants to attractive destination states followed later by a secondary move to their states of birth when their service and social support needs increase. This model was indirectly tested on streams and counter-streams and the findings were consistent with the model. (Author)

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GOING HOME: AGED RETURN MIGRATION IN THE UNITED STATES 1965-70*

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RUNNING HEAD: AGED RETURN MIGRATION

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GOING HOME: AGED RETURN MIGRATION IN THE UNITED STATES 1965-70

"Carry me back to old Virginny,
There's where the cotton and the corn and taters grow...
No place on earth do I love more sincerely
Than old Virginny, the state where I was born."

The familiar words of this old song speak of the nostalgia which was once thought to be strong among retired people, motivating much of their interstate migration experience.

The development of age specific net migration rates during the past decade, however, has left the distinct impression that the siren's songs to the 65-69 age cohort are of more recent vintage, like "Moon over Miami," "Do you know the way to San Jose?" and "By the time I get to Phoenix." This early post retirement age category seems attracted to states with a pleasant winter climate and to states with relatively large entertainment sectors (Barsby and Cox, 1975). They are not necessarily returning to their state of birth.

What is known about aged return migration is contained in an article by William Serow which appeared in the March, 1978, issue of the Journal of Gerontology. It reports that only about 5% of return migrants are of retirement age (age 65 or older). The others are younger. Viewed another way, almost twenty percent of all interstate migrants are returning to their state of birth. This holds for both the older and the general populations. That is, people of retirement age by no means dominate return migration, nor are they more heavily represented among all migrants who are moving to their states of birth. Serow also reported that older people are more likely to return to their state of birth if it is a popular area of destination. The

major difference between the general and the older population was found in rates of lifetime return migration. The "at risk" population was defined to include everyone who had been born in the state but lived elsewhere at the beginning of the quinquennium. Viewed in this way, the age 65+ population had less than half the return migration rate (2.3%) than did the general population (5.9%) in 1970.

Serow's analysis of return migration raises some particularly interesting issues. Because of the limitations of the published census tables, however, they could not be addressed.

First, the measure of a state's attractiveness to its native sons and daughters living in other states would be more intuitively satisfying, and more useful as well, if the "at risk" population were defined only to include persons who made some move between 1965 and 1970. They have faced the decision of where to move and whether to return to their state of birth. To base the return migration rate, as Serow did, on all those living outside their state of birth, whether or not they have faced the issue of returning, is a far weaker, and perhaps misleading, measure of a state's attractiveness to potential return migrants. Furthermore, if there are such variations in the attractiveness of states, it is important to determine the features, if any, that the more or less attractive states share.

Second, nothing is known from demographic analysis concerning the differential characteristics of all return and non-return migrants of retirement age in the United States. Where the characteristics of return and non-return migrants have been examined, it has always been in the context of labor force movement for economic opportunity. Bowman and Myers (1967) and Vanderkamp (1968)

argued that return migration is largely due to an economically unsuccessful outmigration experience. Miller (1973) and Kiker and Traynham (1977) discuss evidence from more recent sources which do not confirm this argument. None of these studies, however, are useful in predicting the characteristics of aged return migrants because of the low probability that their movement is motivated by labor market considerations.

METHODS

In order to address these issues, demographic and socioeconomic items were selected from the person and household records of individuals age 60 and older in 1970 on the one-in-one-hundred Public Use Sample tapes. An origin-destination matrix of all interstate migrants was constructed. By cross-tabulating state of birth with state of residence in 1970, it was possible to determine what percent of interstate migrants were also return migrants. Interstate migrants are defined as the persons living in different states in 1965 and 1970. Return migrants are those who were living in the state in which they were born in 1970 but lived elsewhere in 1965.

The return migration rate used by Serow is the number of return migrants divided by all those born in the state but residing elsewhere at the beginning of the 1965-70 period. The return migration quotient developed for this analysis, on the other hand, is the number of return migrants to a state divided by all interstate migrants born in that state. A second measure, RM/TM, is the percent of return migrants among the total number of migrants into a state.

Figure 1, explained below, separates the four categories of relative attractiveness a state may have for return and non-return migrants.

(FIGURE ONE ABOUT HERE)

This is reflected in the relationship between the return migration quotient and RM/TM. The national average was used to determine high and low measures. A state's attractiveness may be disproportionately strong only for migrants who were born there (Category A). This would be the case if the return migration quotient is high, indicating that more than expected of the native born in the national interstate migration pool for the study period returned, while RM/TM is also high, showing that more than average of those who came into the state were return migrants. On the other hand, a state may be relatively unattractive to both return and non-return migrants (Category B). This would be demonstrated if a state did not attract an above average share of return migrants from the national pool of interstate migrants and yet these represented a larger than usual share of the total inmigration. If older migrants are more likely to return to their state of birth when it is a popular destination for interstate migration, as Serow found, then there are some states which are attractive to all migrants (Category C). This would be the case if a large percentage of migrants who were born in the state returned but represented a disproportionately small percent of all the state's inmigrants. Finally, a state may not attract many of its potential return migrants and they may comprise a smaller than usual percent of its older inmigrants (Category D). This condition would be indicated by a low return migration quotient combined with a lower than normal percent of return migrants among all migrants.

To determine which characteristics best discriminate between return and non-return interstate migrants, discriminant analysis was employed for all states combined. Three groups of independent variables were used in the

analysis. A set of socioeconomic characteristics was included which have been used traditionally in migration studies. These characteristics are education, employment status, hours worked in the past week, whether the person is the major income recipient, amounts of income from business, job, welfare and other sources, total personal and family income and ratio of total family income to the poverty cutoff. A set of demographic characteristics was also included since the characteristics identify or affect major role relationships and resources for personal well-being. It was felt that these may differentiate between return and non-return migrants more powerfully than traditional socioeconomic measures. They are age, sex, marital status, widowhood and race. A third set of variables concern housing quality and living arrangements at the destination. These outcome variables, related by inference to socioeconomic and demographic characteristics, include age of the structure and the completeness of plumbing and air conditioning. They also include living independently, with child and with sibling, and the number of living units in the building.

FINDINGS

Relative attraction. All states and sections of the country do not attract return or non-return migrants equally well. As seen in Table 1, twenty percent of the national migrating population age 60 and over in 1970 returned to their state of birth. Twenty percent was thus chosen as the cut point between high and low incidence for comparing the return migration quotient and the RM/TM columns in Table 1. While a few states fall near

(TABLE ONE ABOUT HERE)

the national average on one column or the other, reducing confidence in their

placement, there are indeed clusters of contiguous states which fall into the four relative attraction categories, with a sprinkling of exceptions.

CATEGORY A. The states which only attract return migrants out of proportion to their numbers in the nation as a whole are found primarily in the Southern sections of the country, from the Atlantic across to Texas. New Hampshire, Rhode Island and Utah, in other sections, also fall into this category. However, Florida, the District of Columbia and Maryland are Southern states which do not fit.

CATEGORY B. The states least able to attract aged migrants of either category tend to be found in a Northern band from the Eastern seaboard (New England and the Middle Atlantic states) across the Great Plains to Montana. They tend to recover between 15 and 19 percent of their potential return migrants while those returning account for between a quarter and a third of all their aged inmigrants. New York, Pennsylvania, Massachusetts, Iowa and Nebraska are the most notable states in this category. New Hampshire, Rhode Island and New Jersey are sectional exceptions.

CATEGORY C. Except for Alaska, all the states on the Pacific Coast, as well as New Jersey, Maryland and Florida on the Atlantic coast attract both more return and more non-return migrants than one would predict knowing only the national distributions. The only non-coastal state in this category is Arizona. All but New Jersey and Maryland have mild winter climates. In Western Washington and Oregon this is due more to warm Pacific currents than to other factors. These seven states received exactly 50% of all U.S. interstate migrants over age 60 who moved between 1965 and 1970 (Wiseman, 1979b)

CATEGORY D. The states which attract some older migrants but to which relatively few native sons and daughters return include the mountain states of Idaho, Colorado, New Mexico and Nevada. The District of Columbia falls

into this category as well. Perhaps the most exemplary state was Idaho, where fewer than a tenth of its potential return migrants came home, although those who did accounted for even a smaller percent of all aged inmigrants.

The variations in relative attraction of return and non-return migrants which have been discussed above are displayed on the map in Figure 2.

(FIGURE TWO ABOUT HERE)

Migrant Characteristics. In order to address the issue of differentials between return and non-return migrants in the United States as a whole, discriminant analysis was employed for all states combined. The return migrant was characterized by this analysis as residing in older houses, living with a sibling, being black and having a lower personal income than the non-return migrant. However, the discriminant function explains less than 5% of the variance in the two groups, as defined by the complete set of variables. The classification function would classify unknown cases correctly about 64% of the time, somewhat better than the toss of a coin. Although the two groups are not greatly different, the characteristics on which they do differ may be important in understanding the dynamics of return migration for people of retirement age.

Table 2 displays the differences between return and non-return migrants for each characteristic taken separately. Regarding socioeconomic differentials, return migrants of retirement age are less likely to be well educated, more likely to be employed, to have lower person and family income and lower income from sources other than employment and welfare. As defined by Lee (1966), return migrants

(TABLE TWO ABOUT HERE)

are negatively selected on these characteristics relative to other interstate

migrants. That is, the return migrants are more likely to come from lower socioeconomic ranks than other interstate migrants.

Concerning demographic differentials, aged return migrants are less likely to be married, more likely to be female and widowed, and to be younger than non-return migrants. The pattern of return migration is more common among blacks than whites. Perhaps reflecting the marriage differential, return migrants are less likely to be living independently or with a child and more likely to be living with a sibling. They are more likely, also, to be living in an older building with fewer living units and no air conditioning and less likely to have complete plumbing or central air conditioning.

DISCUSSION

It has been a common lay expectation that return to one's state of birth is a frequent phenomenon among migrants of retirement age. Serow (1978), in his recent census analysis, demythologized this expectation by demonstrating that (1) only a fifth of all older interstate migrants are returning to their state of birth, about the same as in the general population and, (2) that a very small (2.3) percent of older people had moved to their state of birth in 1970, based on all those living elsewhere in 1965. This was less than half the (5.9) percentage for the general population.

The overall effect of these findings was to depreciate return to state of birth as an important dimension of aged migration, albeit inadvertently. This is, in part, due to the definition employed by Serow of the 'at risk" population as including all those living outside their state of birth in 1965. A narrower definition, encompassing only interstate migrants, was used in the present analysis. As a result, a picture emerges of great state-to-state variability in the national distribution of return migrants.

As seen in Figure 2, all states do not equally attract return migrants. Return migration is but one dimension, perhaps a significant one, in the gradual geographical redistribution of the older population over time. A minority, one fifth, of the older migrating population, between 1965 and 1970, was returning to their state of birth. This return migration movement, while sharing some features of general migration, diverged from it in important ways. It is true, as Serow pointed out, that return migrants were moving in disproportionately large inmigration streams to states which are popular receiving areas for older migrants in general. These states, found in Category C in Figure 2, are all coastal states, except for Arizona. Several are outside the southern half of the nation. The "sunbelt migration" phenomenon fits return migration even more trimly than it does general aged migration. This is seen in the flow of return migrants into the states which once were the Confederate States of America. The South Atlantic division, except for West Virginia, attracted over a third of the entire pool of their native born who were in interstate migration streams during the study period. These coastal states, along with Texas and Louisiana, on the Gulf of Mexico, attract the highest proportions of return migrants in Category A. Even within the Dixie states, which do not attract non-return migrants disproportionately, the larger pattern of migration to coastal states is pronounced. It is the combination of mild climates and proximity to water that seems key to a state's attraction of older interstate migrants.

The presence of land-locked Utah, located outside the southeastern United States, but attracting 37% of its migrating native born who comprise the same percentage of its older inmigrants, calls our attention away from geographical generalizations to cultural considerations. Utah, like the

states of the Old South, has a rural cultural base and a religious homogeniety that older return migrants may find attractive. Kiker and Traynham (1977) argue that outmigrants from the southeastern region may return later because the cost of living tends to lag in these states and offers a short term relative economic advantage to returnees from other regions. Additionally, they assert, the psychic costs associated with outmigration may outweigh its potential economic gain. While Kiker and Traynham were interested in labor force movement, their arguments could be offered just as appropriately for the observed pattern of relatively high proportions of older native born Southerners, like Hobbits to the Shire, returning to their home states. While the cost of living differential is attractive in the short run, there are no doubt other hidden advantages. Returning to a state which has maintained a relatively strong regional identity and rural cultural base may be an emotionally comfortable experience for many of those born in the South before World War I. Climate and, perhaps, a weaker regional identity, has worked against this migration pattern developing in the equally rural West North Central states.

The comparison of migrant characteristics is particularly interesting in light of recent aged migration research. Biggar (1978), in her analysis of migration selectivity among elderly mover types, found that older migrants in general are positively selected and distance accentuates the selection. On several socioeconomic characteristics migrants were higher than local movers. Among interstate migrants, however, as we have seen, return migrants are negatively selected.

The lure of sun and surf may contribute to the negative selectivity of return migrants. Perhaps the aged migration streams to the attractive coastal states and Arizona are dominated by relatively young, married people with higher socioeconomic characteristics. After several years, many of these

people will experience transitions in their lives which increase their need for social and service support. Widowhood, diminished economic viability and health deterioration are prominent among these transitions. Some will return to their state of birth to bolster the resources available for meeting their increasing needs (Longino and Dickens, 1979). Thus, the flows of older people out of these popular destination states would contain greater proportions of widows, of very old people and of those with lower personal incomes returning to their state of birth. Their return would contribute substantially to the negative selectivity of return migration nationally.

Of course, there is no way to directly examine this pattern apart from longitudinal, or at least retrospective, data on individual migration histories and factors affecting the decision to move. There are indirect ways, however.

Miller (1967) speculated that migration may be a self-generating process, heavy inmigration leading later to outmigration. Eldridge (1965) had found earlier, using total population data, that large waves of inmigration tend to be followed by smaller waves of outmigration returning to their place of origin. Consistent with Eldridge's finding, Flynn (1978) and Wiseman (1978, 1979a) have identified several large state-to-state streams of older migrants from non-contiguous states to Florida and to California. Smaller counter-streams from Florida and from California to several origin states were also evident. Two pair of streams and counter-streams are robust enough to permit tests of mean differences in migrant characteristics between them. These are the streams to and from Florida and New York and to and from Florida and Ohio. In this way, it is possible to indirectly test the secondary return migration model. The characteristics are compared in Table 3.

(TABLE THREE ABOUT HERE)

Over a third of the older migrants from Florida to New York and to Ohio are returning to their state of birth, consistent with the model articulated above. The fact that the pattern repeats itself in both counter-streams suggests that it might be replicated in counter-streams leading from other major destinations of aged interstate migration.

Aged return migrants, as seen in Table 2, were slightly younger than were non-return migrants. It is the counter-stream migrants in Table 3, however, who are older. This suggests that the return migrants, who comprise so large a part of these streams, are also older than those moving to Florida from sending states. They are more likely to be female and widowed as well. There is also evidence for negative selectivity of counter-stream migrants in their lower personal income. Total family income is higher in the counter-stream to Ohio, but this is probably due to the higher percent living in the homes of children and siblings.

These comparisons, while not directly testing the "migration-crisis-return migration" model, provide evidence consistent with it. It is of great importance for social service and other planners to be aware of these comparisons between streams to the states which attract high proportions of aged migrants and those which send them. Whether or not counter-stream migration represents secondary post retirement interstate moves, these counter-streams, with their cargo of vulnerability, may create some estimation problems for service delivery planners who assume that all of the people who move to their states will stay there until they die--or that all who move away are gone forever.

SUMMARY

Previous research on return migration of older people corrected the popular misconception that return to state of birth is more common among people of retirement age than it is in the general population. This paper seeks to extend the analysis of 1970 census data by examining two related issues: (1) the features held in common by states that are able to attract a high proportion of their migration-prone native sons and daughters, and (2) what might account for the differences, if any, in the demographic and socioeconomic characteristics of return and non-return migrants.

In order to address these issues, individual characteristics of persons age 60 and over were stripped from the raw data files of the 1970 1-in-100 Public Use Sample of basic records. These data were analyzed in two ways. First, from the state-by-state distributions of return and other inmigrants, two measures were constructed which, in combination, indicated the relative attraction of states for return and non-return migrants. The states that disproportionately attract both types, except for Arizona, are all coastal states, and not necessarily in the southern half of the United States. Those attracting only return migrants, disproportionately, are clustered in the southeastern quadrant of the nation and more closely resemble a sun belt. Those that do not disproportionately attract either, cut a broad swath across the nation under Canada and above the Southeast and from the Atlantic to the Rocky mountains, with a sprinkling of exceptions.

Concerning migrant characteristics, return migrants tend to be negatively selected. This was determined in the second analysis, which employed discriminant function analysis and tests of mean differences in characteristics between return and non-return migrants for all states combined. It is suggested that

the lure of the sea may produce a later flow of migrants out of the popular coastal states to their state of birth, contributing to the negative selectivity of aged return migration. This model was indirectly tested on streams and counter-streams to and from Florida. The results were consistent with the predictive model.

Understanding stream and counter-stream migrant characteristics is important to service delivery planners in states with large outflows and inflows of older migrants because it directly affects their estimation of service demand. To assume that all the people who move into a state will be buried there is naive, but to assume that a state can export much of its service delivery demand to other states may be wishful thinking.

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Figure 1. Relative State Attraction of Aged Return and Non-return Migrants

Attraction Category	Return Migration Quotient	RM/TM	Disproportionately Attracting:
Category A	High	High	Return migrants only
Category B	Low	High	Neither return nor non-return migrants
Category C	High	Low	Both return and non-return migrants
Category D	Low	Low	Non-return migrants only

Figure 2. STATE VARIATION IN ATTRACTION OF OLDER RETURN AND NON-RETURN MIGRANTS 1965-70

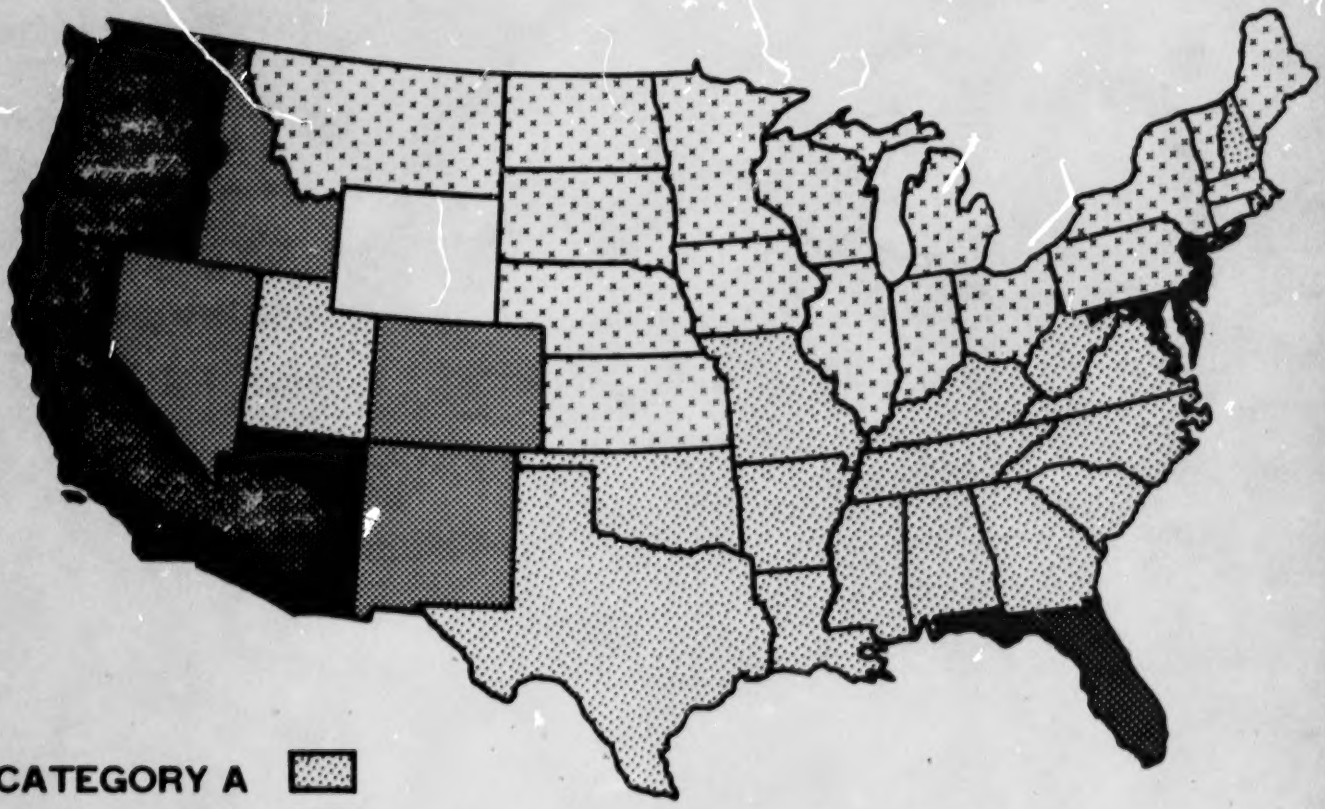

Table 1. Volume and Rate of Return Migration, States and Divisions, Population Age 60+, 1965-70

State or Division	Number of Return Migs.	Number of Inmigrants*	Return Migration Rate**	Return Migration Quotient	RM/TM
Maine	1,300	3,700	3.3	17.8	35.1
N.Hamp.	1,200	4,700	3.1	29.3	25.5
Vt.	800	2,300	2.4	19.0	34.8
Mass.	5,100	11,300	2.2	16.9	45.1
RI	900	3,300	2.2	21.4	27.3
Conn.	2,000	10,000	2.3	21.1	20.0
N.Eng.	11,300	35,300	2.5	19.0	32.0
N.Y.	10,200	23,600	1.8	10.0	43.2
N.J.	6,100	31,500	3.6	24.0	19.4
Penn.	13,000	23,600	2.4	17.4	55.1
Mid.Atl.	29,300	78,700	2.3	19.3	37.2
Ohio	9.200	28,100	2.9	19.7	32.7
Ind.	5,400	15,700	2.3	16.9	34.4
Ill.	9,400	24,300	2.0	13.7	38.7
Mich.	4,400	18,400	2.5	12.9	23.9
Wisc.	4,600	12,900	2.2	18.5	35.7
E.N.Cent.	33,000	99,400	2.3	16.0	33.2
Minnesota	4,100	11,100	1.8	16.2	36.9
Iowa	4,700	9,700	1.3	15.2	48.5
Missouri	8,800	23,800	1.2	22.2	37.0
N. Dakota	1,000	2,700	1.1	13.0	37.0
S. Dakota	800	2,800	1.1	9.4	28.6
Nebraska	3,000	6,600	1.2	16.9	45.5
Kansas	3,200	11,000	1.5	15.1	29.1
W.N.Central	25,600	67,700	1.6	17.0	37.8
Del.	800	3,400	2.7	38.1	23.5
Md.	3,500	18,100	4.3	38.5	19.3
D.C.	400	2,600	1.3	9.8	15.4
Vir.	5,500	19,100	3.1	32.9	28.8
W.Vir.	3,900	7,000	2.7	23.9	55.7
N.Carol.	6,700	15,700	2.8	37.4	42.7
S.Carol.	3,600	9,200	1.9	40.9	39.1
Ga.	6,000	14,800	2.1	35.1	40.5
Fla.	5,600	201,800	16.3	68.3	2.8
S.Atl.	36,000	291,700	3.1	35.9	12.4

Table 1. Volume and Rate of Return Migration, States and Divisions, Population Age 60+, 1965-70 (continued)

State or Division	Number of Return Migs.	Number of Inmigrants*	Return Migration Rate**	Return Migration Quotient	RM/TM
Kentucky	6,200	10,700	2.2	22.2	57.9
Tennessee	6,200	15,200	2.7	29.4	40.8
Alabama	6,000	11,800	2.4	30.5	50.8
Mississippi	4,900	8,800	1.9	29.7	55.7
E.S.Central	23,300	46,500	2.3	27.3	50.1
Arkansas	6,400	17,400	2.3	29.1	36.8
Louisiana	3,300	9,000	2.2	38.8	36.7
Oklahoma	4,200	13,900	2.3	28.2	30.2
Texas	10,600	36,000	3.4	34.9	29.4
W.S.Central	24,500	76,300	2.7	32.2	32.1
Montana	400	1,800	2.9	14.8	22.2
Idaho	300	3,900	1.6	8.6	7.7
Wyoming	0	500	1.3	0.0	0.0
Colorado	1,300	12,700	1.4	19.4	10.2
New Mexico	400	8,700	1.8	13.3	4.6
Arizona	300	42,400	4.4	42.9	.7
Utah	1,700	4,600	3.0	37.0	37.0
Nevada	100	6,200	1.5	16.7	1.6
Mountain	4,500	80,800	2.0	19.5	5.6
Washington	4,400	36,600	3.3	42.7	12.0
Oregon	3,600	30,000	3.6	41.4	12.0
California	3,500	83,800	9.5	29.4	4.2
Alaska	0	2,400	0.0	0.0	0.0
Hawaii	200	5,500	3.1	66.7	3.6
Pacific	11,700	158,300	5.2	36.8	7.4
United States	199,200	934,700	2.3	20.3	20.3

Return Migration Rate = return migrants as percentage of all those born in state but residing outside it in 1965.
Return Migration Quotient = return migrants as percent of all those born in state who were interstate migrants between 1965 and 1970.
RM/TM = return migrants as percent of total state inmigrants

*Native born only.
**Based on population aged 65 or older; source: U. S. Bureau of the Census,1973a Table 10; 1973b, Table 29.

Table 2. Comparisons of Characteristics of Return and Non-return Migrants Age 60+, 1965-70

Characteristics	Return	Non-return	R-NR
Socioeconomic:			
Yrs. of Schooling	11.9	12.3	-.4***
% No Longer Employed	77.5	81.1	-3.6***
Other Income (in dollars)[1]	963	1,532	-569***
Total Person Income (in dollars)	3,294	3,972	-678***
Total Family Income (in dollars)	7,257	9,245	-1988***
Ratio of TFI to Poverty Cutoff[2]	4.65	5.28	-.63***
% Chief Income Recipients in HH[3]	56.5	53.9	2.6*
Hours worked last wk[4]	.31	.25	.06*
Bus. or Prof. Income (in dollars)	153	178	-25
Job Income (in dollars)	1,372	1,402	-30
Welfare Income (in dollars)	32	29	-3
Demographic:			
% White	92.6	96.3	-3.7***
% Black	7.0	3.2	3.8***
% Married	49.9	57.1	-7.2***
Age	68.8	69.4	.6**
% Female	59.7	56.1	3.6**
% Widowed	32.0	29.0	3.0*
Housing and Living Arrangements:			
% Independent households	60.7	70.1	-9.4***
% Living with a Child	5.3	7.7	-2.4***
% Living with a Sibling	8.0	3.3	4.7***
Living Units in Building[5]	1.4	1.7	-.3***
Age of Dwelling[6]	3.4	2.7	.7***
% w/ Complete Plumbing	93.7	97.4	-3.7***
% w/ Central Air	14.1	27.0	-12.9***
% w/ No Air Conditioning	58.4	45.4	13.0***
% Homeowners	52.1	52.6	-.5

[1] Income from all sources other than employment and welfare.

[2] Range is 0 (family income less than half poverty level) to 7 (3 or more times poverty level). A value of 3 is equal to poverty level.

[3] Whether respondent has largest income in family unit.

[4] Range is 0 (less than 15 hours) to 5 (60 or more hours).

[5] Range is 0 (1 family, detatched) to 7 (50 or more family units).

[6] Range is 0 (1969-70) to 5 (1939 or earlier).

* t significant at .05

** t significant at .01

*** t significant at .001

Table 3. Comparison of Characteristics of Migrants Age 60+ in Florida Streams From and to New York and Ohio, 1965-70

Characteristics	New York		Ohio	
	To Fla	From Fla	To Fla	From Fla
	(N=65,100)	(N=3,700)	(N=15,500)	(N=3,700)
% Return Migrants	3.2	37.8***	0	40.5***
Socioeconomic:				
Yrs. of Schooling	12.2	11.3	13.0	11.0***
Other Income	2,297	1,200**	2,670	1,689
Total Person Income	4,396	3,119*	4,910	3,057*
% No Longer Employed	92.0	83.8	85.2	94.6*
Hours Worked Last Wk	.05	.22	.24	.0*
Job Income	892	797	1,046	216*
Total Family Income	8,628	7,622	8,746	11,227
Ratio of TFI to Poverty Cutoff	5.3	4.8	5.5	5.5
% Chief Income Recipient in HH	57.9	54.1	63.2	46.0
Business Income	165	324	113	0*
Welfare Income	13	22	0	19
Demographic:				
Age	68.7	73.5***	68.7	83.4***
% Married	75.1	35.1***	67.1	43.2**
% Widowed	15.2	54.1***	23.2	37.8
% Female	52.1	64.9	45.8	59.5
% White	99.2	94.6	100.0	97.3
% Black	0.1	5.4	0.0	2.7
Housing and Living Arrangements:				
% w/Central Air Conditioning	45.0	2.7***	41.9	13.5***
% w/No Air Conditioning	15.1	67.6***	16.7	56.8***
Age of Dwelling	2.0	3.8***	2.7	3.1*
% Homeowners	46.1	37.8	64.0	35.0**
% Independent Households	78.5	54.1**	73.6	56.8
% Living w/a Sibling	3.1	0	3.2	13.5
% Living w/a Child	2.2	5.4	3.2	10.8
Living Units in Bldg.	1.9	3.8	1.7	2.6
% w/Complete Plumbing	98.0	100.0	98.0	100.0

* t significant at .05

** t significant at .01

*** t significant at .001